

*On the Temples of Deoghar.**—By RÁJENDRALÁLA MITRA,
LL. D., C. I. E.

(With a Plate.)

Deoghar, 'the home of gods,' is a small town, four miles to the south of the Baidyanáth Station on the chord line of the East Indian Railway, and about two hundred miles due west of Calcutta. Lat. $24^{\circ} 29' 43''$ N. Long. $86^{\circ} 44' 36''$ E. During the later Muhammadan rule it formed a part of the Bírblúm district, but it is now included in the Santál Pargannahs, lying on its west side. It is situated on a rocky plain, having a small forest immediately on the north, a low hill on the north-west, called Nandana Páháda, a large hill called Trikúṭa-parvata about five miles to the east,† and other hills to the south-east (Jálme and Páthádu), south (Phuljúári), and south-west (Digheriá), at varying distances, but within twelve miles from its centre. Immediately to the west of the town proper there is a small rivulet named Yamunájor, about 20 feet broad, which exists as a dry ditch for the greater part of the year. About half a mile to the west of this runs the river Dhárawá, which, making a bend, runs also along the south at a distance of about a mile from the town. The space between the town proper and the river on the south side belongs to the Ghátwáli estate of Rohiní; but the town of Rohiní is situated about three miles to the west of the river. The river varies in width from 50 to 120 yards, and during the rains and for two months afterwards is a shallow stream, but in the hot months it is a dry bed of sand from which water is drawn by scraping the sand to the depth of about a foot. It takes its rise in the hills of the Házaribág district, and, after a winding course, falls into the Mor or *Mayú-rákshí* 'the peacock-eyed,' *i. e.*, having water lustrous as the eye of the peacock, near Suri, receiving, before the junction, the waters of the aforesaid Yamunájor. It is subject to very serious freshets. After a heavy shower during the preceding night, I noticed, one morning at 6 o'clock at the end of October, 1881, the water to be barely three feet deep, and four hours

* There are notices of the archæology of the place in Montgomery Martin's 'Eastern India,' Vol. II; in Hunter's 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' and in his 'Statistical Account of Bengal,' Vol. XIV; in the 'Mukarjee Magazine,' (a note by Bábu Bholánáth Chunder); and in the Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VIII, (Mr. Beglar's Report); but none of them is such as to preclude the necessity of a detailed account. None of them gives the inscriptions to be found at the place.

† Mr. Beglar says, "Eight miles *north-west* from Baijnath is a group of hills with three curious peaks, it is known as the Trikuta hills," p. 145. The direction given is quite wrong.

afterwards, there was an impetuous current eight feet deep, and so strong that none could swim across it. I was, on the occasion, placed in a ludicrous situation. My cook had forded the river at early dawn, right opposite to my bungalow, and at 10 o'clock, when he returned with his purchases, the river was impassable, and I had to satisfy myself with the sight of the materials of my breakfast waiting on the opposite bank. The water subsided at 3 P. M., when my servant easily recrossed the river by fording. I have been told that the freshets are at times so sudden that a person may be overtaken by one before he has half crossed the river.

The forest on the north is called Dátá Jungle, deriving its name from that of a Fakir, whose descendants now own the land. It appeared to me very like a hunting-ground or Shíkárgáh of some old Rájá, not unlike the hunting-ground of the Dumraon Mahárájá, but much smaller, being limited to an area of about a mile and a half. It is not much encumbered by brushwood, and one can very easily walk about in different parts of it.

The area of Deoghar is under two miles, and the fixed population at the last Census was reckoned at 8005, of which 4964 were males and 3041 were females. But the influx of pilgrims on particular holidays is said to rise from two to fifty thousand heads. The pilgrims, however, do not, generally speaking, prolong their stay in the town for more than 10 to 12 hours, and their presence does not seem ordinarily to affect much the sanitary condition of the town, which has the reputation of being highly salubrious. The soil is fertile, and the crops are rich; but the cultivation is carried on principally by the Santáls who live in the neighbourhood, and not by the Hindú population, among whom there are about 300 families of priests, a good many of whom look for their earnings mainly to the gullibility and the religious zeal of the pilgrims.

Deoghar is now the head-quarters of a subdivision, and has besides the usual public offices, a good hospital and a school teaching up to the Entrance standard of the Calcutta University. A Municipal Committee, with an income of about two thousand rupees a year, has charge of the sanitary establishment of the town, and to their credit it must be said that the roads and drains of the place look clean and well taken care of.

In so far the place is of little importance. It is, however, of much interest to antiquarians, on account of a large sanctuary which stands in its centre.

There is no temple in Bengal which can claim a higher sanctity than that of Baidyanátha at Deoghar. Its renown is acknowledged by a hundred thousand pilgrims, who resort to it every year, and its antiquity is carried back in some of the Puráṇas to the second age of the world. It was in the Tretá Yuga, says the S'iva Puráṇa, that the cruel Titan, Rávana,

feeling that his golden metropolis in Ceylon, rich and unrivalled as it was, would not be perfect without the presence in it of the great god Mahádeva himself, repaired to the Kailása mountain to secure the grace of that dread divinity. It so happened, however, that the god was at the time in the society of his consort, who was then in a huff, and Nandi, the warder at the gate of his mansion, would not permit a stranger to pass in. But the demon was not to be so easily baulked. He seized the warder by the neck, and hurled him to a great distance from his post. This made the mountain tremble, and the lady in very fear gave up her anger, and sought the protection of her lord.* S'iva was greatly pleased at this occurrence, and when the unmannerly demon pleaded in excuse of his conduct by asserting to the host that as a son he was justified in appearing before his parents at all seasons, and the warder had no business to prevent him, the god readily offered him a boon. The prayer was then made in due form that he should take his permanent residence with the demon. This was, however, not granted. Rávana was told that one of the twelve resplendent emblems of the divinity (*Jyotirliṅga*) would be quite as effective as S'iva *in propria personá*, and that Rávana might take it away on the only condition that the transfer should be effected without a break in the journey, but that should the liṅgam be deposited anywhere on the earth in course of the journey, it would proceed no further, but stick there for ever. To Rávana, accustomed to travel from Ceylon to the heaven of Indra and back, the condition did not seem very hard, and he assented. The liṅgam was immediately taken up, and the journey begun. There were, however, difficulties in the way which the demon did not think of. The gods dreaded the effect of the liṅgam being established in the kingdom of one who was the most powerful enemy of the celestial hierarchy, and if Mahádeva were to be the protector of that demon's metropolis, there would be no means left them for his overthrow. They accordingly sat in solemn conclave, and devised their plan of outwitting their enemy. Varuṇa, the regent of the waters, entered the belly of the demon, and created an unpleasant sensation, and a pressing necessity soon arose for Rávana to relieve himself. Vishṇu, in the garb of a decrepit old Bráhman, appeared before him, and accosted him. Unconscious of the plan that had been laid to entrap him, Rávana begged of the Bráhman to help him by holding the god for a few minutes, and the request was readily acceded to. Rávana made over the liṅgam to him, and retired to a side. He was greatly delayed in his return by the mischievous action of the god of waters within him, and

* There is a story very like this in Pilpay's 'Fables,' and in it the presence of a thief makes a truant wife reconciled to her lord.

when he came back, lo ! the Bráhmaṇ had disappeared, and the liṅgam was lying on the ground at a considerable distance from the spot where he had alighted.* The spot where Rávana had descended is now called Hárlá-juri ; the place where the liṅgam was deposited is Deoghar ; and the Vaidya-

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कैलासशिखरे गौरी यदा मानवती सती ।

दर्शनार्थं दशग्रीवस्तत्काले समुपागतः ॥ ८९ ॥

द्वारमुक्लङ्घ्य सहसा पुरं गन्तुं समुद्यतः ।

नन्दिना वारितस्तत्र कुत्र यास्यसि रावण ॥ ९० ॥

एवं श्रुत्वा दशग्रीवो महाक्रोधैः परिभ्रुतः ।

निक्षिप्य नन्दिं सहसा कैलासं चालयत्तदा ॥ ९१ ॥

कैलासाचलकम्पेन गौरी भयसमाकुला ।

मानं त्यक्त्वा ततो देवी शिवस्य शरणं गता ॥ ९२ ॥

पार्वत्या गमनं दृष्ट्वा महाहर्षेण संयतः ।

केनेदं चालितं शैलं कथयामास नन्दिनं ॥ ९३ ॥

रावण उवाच । मयेदं चालितं शम्भो शैलं चैव दयानिधे ।

नन्दिना मदमत्नेन त्वदर्शननिवारणात् ॥ ९४ ॥

अज्ञानोऽहं महादेव मोहितस्तव मायया ।

न कृतं विहितं कर्म दोषोऽयं चन्तुमर्हसि ॥ ९५ ॥

श्रीमहादेव उवाच । भयं त्यजसि हे वत्स प्रसन्नोऽहं दशानन ।

वरं दृणुष्व भद्रन्ते ददामि मनसीश्रितं ॥ ९६ ॥

रावण उवाच । यदि प्रसन्नो भगवन् वरं दास्यसि मे प्रभो ।

तर्हि त्वं मम लङ्कायां गच्छ कामसुसिद्धये ॥ ९७ ॥

श्रीमहादेव उवाच । गृहाणेदं महालिङ्गं ज्योतीरूपं निरामयं ।

सर्वेषां कामजननं भूमिस्पर्शनकं विना ॥ ९८ ॥

एतस्मिन्नन्तरे तत्र पार्वती रावणाय वै ।

आचमनार्थं जलमदात् मन्त्रेण मेघसंयुतं ॥ ९९ ॥

तेनाचम्य दशग्रीवो लिङ्गमुत्थाप्य यत्नतः ।

स्कन्धे संस्थाप्य सहसा गतो याम्यदिशं प्रति ॥ १०० ॥

ततस्तु प्रार्थितो देवैर्विष्णुवैर्हार्दपीठके ।

दृढब्राह्मणरूपेण प्रच्छन्नः प्राकृतो यथा ॥ १०१ ॥

एतस्मिन्नन्तरे तत्र रावणो मूत्रपीडितः ।

आगत्य ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा प्रणम्याह ससुस्मितः ॥ १०२ ॥

nátha of our day is the liṅgam aforesaid. Deoghar as a name of the place is, however, quite modern. In Sanskrit works we find in its place Hárda-píṭha, Haridrápíṭha, Rávaṇa-kánana, Ketaki-vana, Harítaki-vana, and Vaidyanátha. In Bengal the place was generally known under the last name, but the East Indian Railway Company having opened a station near it and assigned to the town that has grown up around it the name of Baidyánatha, the people, for the sake of distinction, have used the name of Deoghar. In the Post Office seal the name is Baidyanáth Deoghar.

The story as related in the Vaidyanátha-máhátmya of the Śiva Puráṇa is embellished with many tedious and circumstantial details which it is not necessary to notice here, particularly as those details are not borne out by the Padma Puráṇa, which alters them to a considerable extent. As both the versions are fictitious—the results of wild, uncontrolled fancy—they are of no interest except to the pious Hindú.

The story runs that Rávaṇa tried hard to remove the liṅgam from the spot where it had been placed, but failed. The divinity would on no account move from the place. The Titan, growing desperate, used violence; but that served only to knock off a bit from the top of the liṅgam, but not to move the divinity from the position it had taken. This showed the folly of the course Rávaṇa had adopted, and he fell at the feet of the liṅgam, and begged for pardon. He made amends, too, for his sacrilegious violence by daily coming to the place and worshipping the divinity with sacred water brought from the source of the Ganges on the Himálaya mountains. The latter part of the operation was subsequently dispensed with by the excavation of a well in which the waters of all the sacred pools on the face of the earth were deposited.

दण्डमात्रं त्वया ब्रह्मन् लिङ्गम् तु येन केन वै ।

धारणीयं प्रयत्नेन इत्यङ्गा तत्करे ददौ ॥ १०३ ॥

ततो देव्या प्रदत्तेन तोयेन वज्रमूत्रकः ।

रावणो ह्यभवत्तत्र दुःखेन पीडितो भृशं ॥ १०४ ॥

तदा व्यतीतकाले तु विष्णुना द्विजरूपिणा ।

स्थापितो वैद्यनाथाख्यः पातालस्य च भेदकः ॥ १०५ ॥

गते कियति काले तु रावणः शौचमाचरन् ।

बाह्वभिः सहस्राद्यातुं न शक्नोत्तुलसीहितः ॥ १०६ ॥

तदा च सुदृढं स्थाप्य निजचिह्नस्य हेतुना ।

प्रणम्य गिरिजाकान्तं गतस्य स्वं निकेतनं ॥ १०७ ॥

एवं वज्रपु कल्पेषु रावणस्य च हेतवे ।

प्राभवद् वैद्यनाथाख्यो ज्योतिर्लिङ्गो महाप्रभः ॥ १०८ ॥

According to the Padma Purána, the Bráhmaṇ deposited the liṅgam in due form, consecrated it with water from a neighbouring tank, repeated his prayers, and then departed. A Bheel was present when this was done; he received instructions from the Bráhmaṇ and, following his example, worshipped the liṅgam, but having no vessel handy, brought the water for worship in his mouth, and used it in his adoration. When Rávaṇa at last returned, he related all the circumstances, and pointed out that the Bráhmaṇ was no other than Viṣṇu himself. Rávaṇa then excavated a well with an arrow, brought into it the waters of all the sacred pools on earth, and duly worshipped the god.* This is obviously a Sivite version of the story of the

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तावत्तेन तु सन्दिष्टी ब्राह्मणस्तत्र सोऽपि वै ।

भिन्नो दृष्टश्च गङ्गोद्पूर्णवक्त्रो विमत्सरः ॥ ८१ ॥

लिङ्गमध्ये तु गङ्गोद्दायकोयवनोपमः ।

दृष्ट्वा तं कथयामास रावणो विस्मयान्नितः ॥ ८२ ॥

कोऽसि त्वं केन चायं वै लिङ्गः संस्थापितो वद ।

किञ्चानेन फलं नित्यपूजकोभ्यः प्रदीयते ॥ ८३ ॥

कथङ्कारं जनैः सेव्यं क्व गतः स च ब्राह्मणः ।

स्थापनस्य माहात्म्यञ्च तन्मे ब्रूहि यथार्थतः ॥ ८४ ॥

अलिङ्गन (सत्येन तु) त्वया वाच्यं सुहृत्संशयसाधकं (भङ्गनं) ।

इति लिङ्गेश्वचनं श्रुत्वा भिन्नः कृपापरः ॥ ८५ ॥

कथयामास तत्सर्वमादितोऽन्तावधि स्वयं ।

दशग्रीव त्वया यस्य हस्ते लिङ्गः समर्पितः ॥ ८६ ॥

स वै विष्णुर्विप्ररूपी वञ्चनाय समागतः ।

आचमनापदेशेन पार्व्वतीप्रेषितेन च ॥ ८७ ॥

तवेदरे प्रविष्टेन मेघेन चिरमूर्त्रितं ।

भवत्तापं विनिर्नेतुं मुहूर्त्तादूर्द्धमेव च ॥ ८८ ॥

कालं दृष्ट्वा च हरिणा प्रतिज्ञारक्षकेण च ।

अतिक्रान्ते तु तत्काले लोकानां मुक्तिहेतवे ॥ ८९ ॥

प्रस्थापितमिदं लिङ्गं लोकानां भाग्यहेतुकं ।

विष्णुना स्थापितं लिङ्गं पूजयेद्यो विधानतः ॥ ९० ॥

सोऽचिरेणैव कालेन लब्धकामो भविष्यति ।

मया तु फललाभाय तस्य विप्रस्य वाक्यतः ॥ ९१ ॥

प्राप्यमपाय्यविधिना केवलैर्भक्तिभावतः ।]

वक्त्रेणानेन गङ्गोद्स्थापितं प्रतिपर्व्वणि ॥ ९२ ॥

सम्पूज्यते लिङ्गमेतत् धर्मकामार्थसिद्धये ॥ ९३ ॥

Vaidyanátha-máhátmya of the Padma-purána. Chapter 2,

fowler Viśvavasu who worshipped Jagannátha before the Hindús took up that divinity.*

After the death of Rávana, according to one set of traditions, (not noticed in any Purána), the liṅgam lay neglected for ages, until it was noticed by a rude hunter, Vaijú by name, who accepted it for his god, and worshipped it daily, and proclaimed it to the world as the lord of Vaijú—Vaidyanátha. Before this occurrence, the liṅgam was known by its original name of *Jyotirliṅga*, the liṅgam of light, or the name it derived on its transfer, Rávaṇeśvara.

The Santál tradition differs from this. According to it, as summarised by Dr. Hunter in his interesting 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' "In the olden time,' they say, 'a band of Bráhmans settled on the banks of the beautiful highland lake beside which the holy city stands. Around them there was nothing but the forest and mountains, in which dwelt the black races. The Bráhmans placed the symbol of their god S'iva near the lake, and did sacrifice to it; but the black tribes would not sacrifice to it, but came, as before, to the three great stones which their fathers had worshipped, and which are to be seen at the western entrance of the holy city to this day. The Bráhmans, moreover, ploughed the land, and brought water from the lake to nourish the soil; but the hill-men hunted and fished as of old, or tended their herds, while their women tilled little patches of Indian-corn. But in process of time the Bráhmans, finding the land good, became slothful, giving themselves up to lust, and seldom calling on their god S'iva. This the black tribes, who came to worship the great stones, saw and wondered at more and more, till at last one of them, by name Byju, a man of a mighty arm, and rich in all sorts of cattle, became wroth at the lies and wantonness of the Bráhmans, and vowed he would beat the symbol of their god S'iva with his club every day before touching food. This he did; but one morning his cattle strayed into the forest, and after seeking them all day, he came home hungry and weary, and having hastily bathed in the lake, sat down to his supper. Just as he stretched out his hand to take the food, he cailed to mind his vow; and, worn out as he was, he got up, limped painfully to the Bráhmans' idol on the margin of the lake, and beat it with his club. Then suddenly a splendid form, sparkling with jewels, rose from the waters, and said: 'Behold the man who forgets his hunger and his weariness to beat me, while my priests sleep with their concubines at home, and neither give me to eat nor to drink. Let him ask of me what he will, and it shall be given.' Byju answered, 'I am strong of arm and rich in cattle. I am a leader of my people; what want I more? Thou art called *Náth* (Lord); let me too be called Lord, and let thy temple go by my name.' 'Amen,' replied

* Cf. my Antiquities of Orissa, II, p. 102.

the deity; 'henceforth thou art not Byju, but Byjnáth, and my temple shall be called by thy name.' '*

Romantically as this story has been narrated by the charming writer, it is as thoroughly fictitious as the one that the Hindús recite, and utterly worthless as data for any historical inference. It cannot be under any circumstance more than three hundred years old; it is probably of a much more recent date. The Indian-corn, which the women of the black races are said to have cultivated, was unknown in this country before the Spaniards or the Portuguese brought it from America, and the black races could not possibly have known it in the olden time, or about the time when the temple was first built. There is no name for the corn in the Sanskrit language, and the vernacular names *Janérá*, *Bhutṭá*, *Makká* are all obviously foreign. In *Janérá* we have Rio Janeiro, and in *Makká* we recognize the *Mahiz* of the Island of Hayti, whence maize was first brought to Europe. It is true that the aboriginal races now cultivate it very largely, but that is not due to its being an aboriginal product, but to its being easily cultivated, and therefore better suited to the primitive husbandry of the Santáls. The "three stones of aboriginal worship" are altogether a misidentification. As will be shown in the sequel, they are parts of a purely Hindú structure, attached to a Hindú temple, and used for Hindú ceremonials. It may be added that the tomb in which the mortal remains of Byju are alleged to be deposited is scarcely two hundred years old. Byju is no other than a clumsy copy of the Puránic Bhilla, the forester, and must go the way of his archetype.

Some of the Puráñas, without openly rejecting the story of Rávana, carry the date of Vaidyanátha's advent at Deoghar to a much earlier period. It was not in the second, but in the first, age of the world, *Satya Yuga* or the "age of Truth," when the gods of heaven had not yet settled down to their respective places, and jealousies and rivalry and dissensions were rife for precedence, that S'iva, claiming a higher rank than that of his father-in-law, Daksha, treated him with marked discourtesy at a public assembly. The patriarch resented this by not inviting him to a grand sacrifice, and Sati, the daughter of Daksha, failing in her expostulations with her father, committed suicide, rather than continue to be known as the daughter of one who had reviled her divine husband. Overpowered by grief, S'iva, in a fit of frenzy, stuck the corpse of his wife on the point of his trident, and roamed about as a madman. The sight created a scandal, and nobody being able to approach and remonstrate with S'iva, Vishnu cut up the body with his discus into fifty-two parts, which fell on different parts of India. The heart fell at Deoghar, and thence that place attained its sanctity, and became known by the name of *Hárdapíṭha* "the sanctuary of the heart."

* 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' pp. 191f.

Siva nursed his grief here for a long time, carrying the heart on his breast like the Scotch knight who brought away the heart of Richard I, from France, and earned the surname of Lockheart, changed afterwards to Lockhart. It is added, that inasmuch as this was the only way in which Siva offered the final obsequies to his consort, the place derived the alternative name of *Chitábhúmi*, the "cremation ground." It is worthy of note, however, that at present there is no temple, shrine, or spot at Deoghar which is associated with this occurrence, though at all the other fifty-one places mementos of some kind or other are still extant.

Yet another story. It was again at the first age of the world that Siva manifested himself as liṅgams of light at twelve different places under different names. These included 1st, Somanátha, in Sauráshṭra; 2nd, Mallikárjuna at Srísaila; 3rd, Mahákála at Ujjain; 4th, Oṅkára, at Amareśvara; 5th, Kedára, on the Himálaya; 6th, Bhímaśaṅkara, at Dákiní; 7th, Viśveśvara, at Benares; 8th, Tryambaka, on the banks of the Gautamí; 9th, Vaidyanátha, at Chitábhúmi; 10th, Nágeśa at Dwárká; 11th, Rámeśa, at Setubandha; and 12th, Ghuṣṛiṇeśa, at Síválaya.* These include all the principal and most celebrated liṅgams in India.

On the top of the liṅgam at Deoghar, the goddess Sati appeared as a pandanus flower, and for a long time afterwards dwelt in a grove near it in order to be ready at hand to worship the emblem of her lord. Owing to this circumstance the place became known as *Ketakivana*, or the "pandanus grove."

How our Pandits reconcile these contradictory stories, I know not, and it would be futile to inquire into the subject. But to turn to the memorials now extant with which these stories are associated.

The temple of Vaidyanátha now stands in the middle of the town, and is surrounded by a courtyard of an irregular quadrilateral figure. See plan, Plate XV. The east side of the courtyard facing the public road measures, from north to south, 226 feet, and near its southern limit there is a large arched gateway with a Nubbatkháná on top of it. The Nubbatkháná is, however, not much used, a separate two-storeyed building, close to the north of it, having been provided for the musicians. The gateway also is not much used, as it has been partially blocked by a one-storeyed building. On the south side, which is faced by a range of shops, the length is 242 feet. On

* सौराष्ट्रे सोमनाथं च श्रीशैले मल्लिकार्जुनं ।

उज्जैन्यां च महाकालं ॐकारममरेश्वरे ॥ ४८ ॥

केशरं हिमवत्पृष्ठे डाकिन्यां भीमशङ्करं ।

वाराणस्यां च विश्वेशं त्राम्बकज्ञोतमीतटे ॥ ४९ ॥

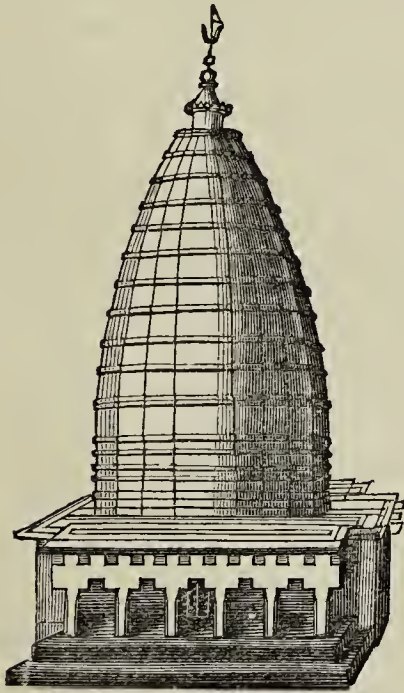
वैद्यनाथं चिताभूमौ नागेशं द्वारिकावने ।

सेतुबन्धे तु रामेशं घुहृणेशं शिवालये ॥ ५० ॥

वैद्यनाथ महात्मा ।

the west, the length is 215 feet, and, in the middle of it, there is a small doorway leading to a bye-lane.* The greater part of the north side is covered by the private residence of the Head Priest, but towards the north-east corner there is a large gateway with massive side pillars, and it now serves as the principal entrance to the temple enclosure. All pilgrims are expected to enter by this gate. The length of this side is 220 feet. All the above measurements have been taken within the enclosing walls. The whole of the area is paved with flags of chunar free-stone, the gift of a Mirzapur merchant, who spent a large sum on this pious work.

The principal temple stands on the centre of this area, facing the east, as old Hindú temples usually do. It is a plain stone structure, rising to a height of 72 feet on the slope. Its surface is cut into a check pattern by plain perpendicular and horizontal mouldings. When originally built it comprised a single cell 15' 2" × 15', opening due east. A low porch or lobby, 35' × 12' divided into two aisles by a row of 4 pillars, was added sometime after, and a second porch, a little shorter, followed at a later date. Both the porches are paved with flags of basalt. The appearance of the façade is shown in the annexed woodcut, copied from a photograph. The woodcut does not show that the central opening is flush with the courtyard. The ends of the lobby are accessible by small doorways, which are reserved for the use of priests and respectable female pilgrims. The other three sides of the cell are faced by pillared verandas which are reserved for the use of those pilgrims who come to fast for days to secure special blessings from the divinity in the temple. On the east side of the northern veranda there is a masonry vat into which flows the water and milk used for the ablutions of



the liṅgam. The water in it is of a dirty colour, being loaded with milk, sandal-paste, and washings of flowers,† which impart to it a fragrant

* Mr. Beglar's description of the gates is not correct. He says, "there are four entrances to it; the principal one is to the west, and a similar one is on the north. Of the two minor ones, one is on the north and one on the east," (p. 138). The east gate is the largest and the west one small. The second door on the north is the passage which leads to the Head Priest's residence which forms a part of the sacred premises, and cannot correctly be called an entrance to the courtyard.

† An emulsion of Bháng is often poured on the liṅgam, and occasionally Gánjá is put on its top, but I was told, that such things were not allowed to flow into the vat for fear of their injuriously affecting the pilgrims who drink the water.

smell, and is esteemed as highly sacred. Every pilgrim is expected to taste a few drops of it, and to carry away a phial full of it. I was informed that the water is bailed out of it from time to time, to prevent its becoming tainted by the putrefaction of the vegetable matter mixed with it. When I tasted it, I did not notice any fœtid odour.

The presiding divinity of the temple is the *Jyotirliṅga* or Vaidyanátha of the story cited above. It is of a cylindrical form, five inches in diameter, and rising about four inches from the centre of a large slab of basalt shaped like a yoni and pointing towards the north. Fixed firmly as it is in this slab, it is not possible to ascertain how much of the liṅgam is buried under ground. The top is broken, and has an uneven surface, one side being a little higher than the other side. The fracture is attributed by the Hindú legend to the assault of Rávaṇa, and by the Santál legend to that of the forester Byju; probably the real cause has to be looked for in the fanaticism of some iconoclastic Muslim. Daily pouring of water and milk by hundreds of pilgrims and repeated wipings after every offering, have smoothed the surface and made it even glistening, but the irregular fracture is prominently perceptible.

The cell is exceedingly dark, and, entering it after circumambulating the temple in the glare of the midday sun, one can see nothing in it; and two ghi-fed lamps are all that are held up to help the faithful in beholding the emblem of the divinity: one of them is kept burning all day. With the feeble light of the lamps, and after repeated washings, I noticed the liṅgam to be of a dull amber colour, mottled with black specks. The original colour was doubtless grey, but the washings with milk and frequent smearing with sandal-paste have given it a yellowish tinge, and the specks suggested to me the idea of the stone being granite. The cell contains no furniture of any kind, and the walls are bare and unplastered. One block of basalt on the top of the doorway, I was told, contained an inscription. But going up to it by a ladder and holding two torches by its side, I found the supposed writing to be mere chisel marks.

The lobby in front of the cell is, like the cell itself, paved with flags of basalt, but it contains nothing in the way of furniture or fixtures. There is, however, a small inscription on the left side of the entrance to the cell. This will be noticed lower down.

The second porch has, as shown in the woodcut, in front a row of pillars spanned by blocks of basalt. On the right side there is a sandstone image of a bull, which is by some dignified with the name of *S'ríjuta* or 'his excellency.' Near it there are some small bovine images, and bells hang under the ceiling. Every pilgrim, entering by the front door, has to pull the bell-rope to announce to the divinity the approach of a devotee. In most cases the priests do the needful in behalf of the pilgrims. This rule is strictly enforced at the temple of Viśveśvara at Benares.

The ritual of worship is simple enough. The mantras are few, and the offerings limited. Pouring of water on the liṅgam, smearing it with sandal-paste, and the offering of flowers and a few grains of rice constitute the worship. This is followed by the offering of money in silver or gold, no copper being allowed to be brought in contact with the divinity. Rich people offer horses, cattle, pálkis, gold ornaments and other valuables, and sometimes rent-free land in support of the daily worship, the title-deed in such cases being ordinarily a bel leaf on which the donation is written, and the leaf is swept out in the evening. This deed, however, is more faithfully respected than many muniments on parchment. There is nothing here like the consecration of enormous quantities of dressed food and sweetmeats which obtains at Bhuvanés'vara, Puri, and elsewhere. The god delights in water, bel leaves, sandal and flowers, and they are all that are necessary for his worship. He is, however, very particular about the quality of the leaves and the water. The former has to be brought from the Trikuṭa Hill. For ordinary use the water of the sacred well, excavated by Rávaṇa, is held sufficient; but water from the sources of the Ganges on the Himálaya near Badrínáth, Sanskrit Badarínátha, or from the Mánasarovar lake in Tibet, is highly prized, and thousands of pilgrims, mostly hermits, bring it from those distant places. A great quantity is also brought from the Ganges near the Jaṅgirá rock.* Adverting to it, Mr. Montgomery Martin says, "but the great emolument of the priests arises from about 50,000 pilgrims who at various times come to carry away a load of water which they intend to pour on

* General Cunningham derives the name from that of a saint, and not from that of the Emperor Jahángir as some do. He says, "Here the course of the river is changed by two rocky hills; one called Jangíra, standing in the middle of the water, and the other called Báis-karan forming a bluff headland at the end of the stream. The former derives its name from Jahnu Rishi, who had established his cell or *A'sram* in a cleft of the rocks. Hence the rock itself was called *Jáhnavi griha*, or "Jahnu's house," which was gradually shortened to *Jáhn-gira*, just as *Rája griha* has now become *Rájgir*." (Archæological Survey Reports, XIV, p. 20.) This is a mere guess, and on the face of it not tenable. If the meaning be "Jahnu's house," the compound should be *Jahnu-griha*, which would correspond with *Rája-griha*, the first member of which is a noun. If the derivative form be accepted, the term should be *Jáhnava griha*, the neuter noun *griha* not admitting of a feminine adjective like *Jáhnavi* to qualify it, nor could the name of the saint be feminine. If the term be taken as a derivative feminine noun, the meaning would be the house of the river Ganges, and we would come to the absurdity of calling the rock the house of the river. If the word be spelt with a short final i in the derivative form, we create our giant *vi* with the object of knocking it down immediately after without any object, and that against the ordinary rules of Sanskrit elision. The name originally was Jahnugiri or "the rock of Jahnu." Both *griha* and *giri* would change into *gir* in the vernacular without any difficulty, and the context can alone determine the original term.

the head of various celebrated images in distant parts. In the south of India I have met pilgrims carrying their load from this place; but by far the greater part goes to Devaghar in Vírabhúm where it is poured on the Priapus or Liंगा called Baidyanátha, to whom this water, taken from a scene of former pleasure, is considered as peculiarly acceptable.”*

A special charge was formerly made for the offering of this water, and it was called *Gaṅgájali*. The priests now keep a supply of sacred water in phials to help such pilgrims as come without a supply. A few drops of this water are sprinkled on the flowers which the worshipper offers to the divinity. The water is described to be from Jangirá, or from Badarinátha, or from Mánasarovar according to the whim of the priest at the time.

The verandas on the north, the west, and the south sides of the temple are reserved for such pilgrims as repair to the asylum of the divinity for special blessings. Their daily number varies from 20 to 40, and they include both men and women from all classes of the community, from the richest to the poorest. The plan adopted to extort the blessings is curious. It is a sort of a distress warrant on the divinity, threatening him with the sin of murder if he should decline, and reminds one of the Brehon law of distress, under which a creditor who required payment from a debtor of higher rank than himself should fast upon him. In the ordinary affairs of life this law is well known in this country from an early date under the name of “sitting Dharná.” At one time it was so prevalent that the British Indian Government felt it necessary to pass a special law, Regulation VII of 1820, to prohibit it. When one fasts on a god the word ordinarily used is *hatyá* or killing, for the resolution is to commit suicide by fasting, should the divinity implored decline to grant the favour sought. It is in fact *Dharná* under another name. The blessings sought are various. Ordinarily men fast for the cure of their diseases; women mostly for the cure of the ailments of their children, or for obtaining children. The usual practice is for a pilgrim to bathe in the Sívagaṅgá tank in the morning, worship the liṅgam, and then to lie down on the bare pavement of the veranda till next morning, when he or she rises, performs his or her worship, drinks a mouthful of water from the vat on the north side, and then lies down again. This practice is continued for three days and three nights, in course of which the pleasure of the divinity is generally communicated to him or her in a dream. Sometimes the dream comes on the very first night, sometimes on the second or the third, and sometimes not at all; the dream, when vouchsafed, manifesting itself in such words as “Go away, you are cured;” or “Go, and do such and such things (naming them) and you will be cured;” or “You will be cured;” or “Your wish will be fulfilled in course of such a time”

* Martin's ‘Eastern India,’ Vol. II, p. 38.

(naming it). Should no dream come, it is understood that the person is too sinful and utterly unworthy of the god's mercy. Formerly the fasting was continued sometimes to seven, eight, or nine days, and dreams came on after such protracted fasting; but, some deaths having taken place from starvation, the priests do not now permit a longer fasting than of three days. The sight of these miserable beings on the third day is pitiful indeed. I once noticed a woman of about 30 years of age, lean and emaciated, who was too weak to walk from her place to the vat, and to have a drink of water, and had to be led thereto by her companion. It should be added, however, that this absolute fast is highly efficacious in many cases. Persons who had suffered for months or years from painful chronic diseases, which had made life a burthen to them, have returned home perfectly cured, while others have been greatly relieved. Nervous diseases, particularly hysteria, are often cured. And there are not women wanting who profess that they have been cured of their barrenness. One common complaint among Hindú women is that their children die young, so that they cannot have two sons living at the same time, and for this they sometimes fast at the gate of the lord, and are not unoften blessed. Of course there can be no statistics to show the percentage of cures, and it must be comparatively small, perhaps not more so than at Lourdes and other places in Europe, but it is sufficiently large to keep up a constant stream of pilgrims submitting to the fast. Some of those who are blessed have their names engraved on the pavement of the verandas, and there are a great many names so engraved. Formerly the pilgrims lay in the open courtyard, but about one hundred and fifty years ago the verandas were built to protect them from the sun and rain.

Leaving now the great temple, I must go over the courtyard to notice the minor sanctuaries. The terrace, marked No. 1 on the annexed plan,* (Plate XV) is used by paṇḍits on cold weather mornings for expounding the Śástras. It is also used for performing śráddhas.

No. 2 has been replaced lately by a large stone temple, which the present Head Priest has erected in honour of his father.

No. 3 is dedicated to the goddess Kálí, a black stone image, similar to what is now prepared in Bengal to represent that divinity. The image is remarkably well executed. On the top of the door there is an inscription which gives the name of Harinátha Ojhá and the Samvat date 1700. A second inscription on a side gives a different date.

* I am indebted for this plan to Bábu Ráshabehári Dutt, Kanungo of Deoghar. He measured the temples without taking any angles, and the location of the different temples is, therefore, not absolutely correct. For all practical purposes, however, the plan is quite satisfactory. Since preparing it, I find Mr. Beglar has published one in the *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. VIII.

No. 4 is dedicated to the goddess Annapúrṇá, 'the great almoner.' It too has an inscription.

No. 5 is the sacred well *Chandrakúpa*,* the repository of the holy waters of all the sacred pools on earth, which Rávana is said to have excavated to relieve himself of the necessity of daily bringing water for worship from the Himálaya mountains. It is very awkwardly situated, right in front of the main entrance to the courtyard. The parapet round the well is of an octagonal form, and is kept in such good repair, with the plaster often renewed, that it is impossible to judge of its age from its appearance or make. The water is very good and clear, and that would suggest the inference that much sediment cannot have accumulated at the bottom. It is largely used both for the daily service of the temples and for drinking purposes by the people of the neighbourhood.

No. 6 is an unfinished temple. Mr. Beglar describes it at some length. He says:

"The finest of all the temples is the unfinished temple D; this, from the plan, is seen to be a single cell, once surrounded on all sides, now on three sides only, by pillars, which supported the roof of a veranda all round. From an examination of the pillars, however, it is clear that they formed no part of the original design, as they differ among each other in form, in size, in execution, and in position with reference to the central building, the pillars being not at a uniform but at varying distances from the walls on the various sides; these pillars further shew that the enclosure wall is a later addition even than themselves, as one of the pillars is imbedded in the eastern enclosure wall.

"Divested of its pillars, this temple is seen to be a single cell, surmounted by a tower roof; it is ornamented externally by plain raised bands of mouldings; these are neither elegant nor bold, and are situated so high up, leaving such a height of bare blankness below, as to look quite out of place. Below, the corners are indented and sculptured into plain rectilinear mouldings by way of ornament; this process has the effect of making the corners look particularly weak, and, but for the veranda, which now acts a friendly part, by breaking up the height, and shutting off as it were the main tower from the basement portion, the error of the proceeding would become painfully evident. * * *

"The tower does not diminish with a graceful curve, but slopes upwards from above a certain point in almost a straight line. The knee or

* गङ्गादिसर्व्वतीर्थस्य जलेनैव प्रपूरितं ।

चन्द्रकूपं च तन्नाम विहितं प्रीतिपूर्व्वकं ॥

वैद्यनाथ- मा० पू० ५० ।

point of intersection of the vertical lower portion and the inclined upper tower portion is so little rounded as to be painfully prominent, and prominent too in such a way, as to shew that the architects really did not know how to deal with it; they had not the courage to leave the line sharp, and bring it out by a bold moulding, and they had not the taste to round it gracefully.

“The form appears to be a compromise between the Muhammadan dome of the early type, *i. e.*, without a bulge, and the Hindu spire; if a semicircle be described on the top of the vertical portion of the tower, and if on the semicircle so described a triangle, whose base is less in width than the diameter of the semicircle, be slipped, till the lower extremities of its sides rest on the curve of the semicircle, we shall get a form that nearly approaches that of these towers.”*

Elsewhere he says, “I have described but one of the temples in the enclosure, that is, the best of the group, and may be regarded as the type of the others.”†

These disquisitions about art and compromises and types are, however, thrown away. The temple is not a finished work of art; as we now see it, it is the result of an accident, and no general deductions can be drawn from it. It is, moreover, singular in appearance, and cannot have served as a type for any other. It is well known to the people that the temple was undertaken by Vámadeva Ojhá, an early ancestor of the present Head Priest, with the ambitious object of erecting a temple of larger and nobler proportions than the abode of Vaidyanátha, and to dedicate it to Lakshmí-náráyana, thereby making the Vaishṇava divinity outshine the Sívite lord, even in his own stronghold. The plans were settled with this object in view; the plinth was to be 6 feet high, the fane of Vaidyanátha having no plinth at all; the exterior dimensions were fixed at 37 feet by 35 feet, those of Vaidyanátha's temple being 22' × 21'; the altitude was to have been 120 feet against Vaidyanátha's 70 feet. The work was commenced accordingly; the plinth was completed, and the main building carried to a height of 51 feet, when Vaidyanátha appeared to the presumptuous priest in a dream, and threatened dire retribution if the heterodox idea should be any further pushed on. None could disobey so dreadful a threat. The original idea was abandoned, and the works were stopped at once. To prevent, however, the unsightly walls remaining standing as a monument of folly, a flat roof, 21 feet square, was put on, and the walls somehow plastered. The verandas on the west and the south sides were at a later time covered in, but not on the north and the east sides, though the plinths on those

* Archaeological Survey Reports, VIII, pp. 139-8.

† Ibid, p. 142.

sides had been built and the pillars set up. In the annexed plan, the roofed portions alone are shown.* The fact mentioned by Mr. Beglar that one of the pillars juts into the surrounding wall should show that the wall dates from a later time ; but the unequal and irregular width of the verandas and their unfinished condition, supported by the belief that they were added subsequently, may well suggest the idea of the wall being of an earlier period. The base of the temple and the boundary wall existing, the width of the verandas had to be regulated according to the space available.

It would seem that no image had been prepared when the temple was taken in hand, and, when the crisis arrived, it was out of the question to think of a new image. But the temple having been roofed in, something had to be put in it, and we now find three images of Vishṇu on the throne which had been designed for one image, that of Lakshmi-náráyaṇa. The images are loosely propped against a wall behind the masonry platform, instead of being fixed by their bases. They are in alto-relievo, each representing a four-handed human figure standing on a lotus throne. They are of unequal size. The largest image is 3'-6" high, the next 2 feet, and the last 1'-6" ; and they have apparently been brought away from some old temple, for they have been injured by the removal ; parts of the back-frame have been broken and other parts chipped off.

No. 7 belongs to Ananda-bhairava, who is represented as a human being, lifesize, squatting on a lotus seat, and engaged in meditation. At first sight one is apt to take it for a Buddha in meditation. The temple was undertaken by Anandadatta Ojhá, but he did not live long enough to finish it. His son Paramánanda did not care for it, but his grandson, Sarvánanda, completed it in A. D. 1823.

No. 8 is a vat or well, situated right in front of the last. It is assumed to represent the two rivers Ganges and Yamuná, and named accordingly.

No. 9 is situated to the south of No. 7, and is dedicated to the images of Ráma, Lakshmaṇa, and Jánakí. The images are very modern, and call for no remark. The temple was built by Rámadatta Ojhá in the 9th decade of the last century.

No. 10 is the vat wherein flow the waste waters of the great temple, and afford the only sustenance which the pilgrims derive during their rigorous fasts.

No. 11 is the great temple already described.

No. 12 is a flat-roofed temple with a small porch. It contains a liṅgam which has the distinctive name of *Nílakaṅṭha* or the 'Blue-throated.'

* In the plan annexed to Mr. Beglar's note in the Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VIII, all the four sides are shown.

The story is that, on the occasion of the churning of the ocean by the gods and the demons, a large quantity of poison was evolved which threatened immediate destruction to the churners, and to save them, S'iva quaffed off the lethal draught, which stuck in his throat, and caused a blue or black mark to be apparent on it.

No. 13 is dedicated to Párvatí, the consort of the presiding divinity in the great temple, and the eternal union of the two is indicated by a piece of cloth tied by the two ends to the pinnacles of the temples, stretching from one to the other, a distance of about 70 feet. The temple is well built, and stands on a plinth about 8 feet high. On the centre of the cell there is a masonry platform on which are placed two black stone images of unequal size, one a four-handed standing female 1'-6" high, and named Gaurí, 'the fair one,' the other, eight-handed, standing behind a buffalo which she is destroying; the latter is 14 inches in height and named Párvatí, 'the mountain born.' Both are slightly chipped in some places. They have apparently been brought from some old temple or other, and not made expressly for the fane in which they are now placed. They are held in the highest veneration, and offerings of sweetmeats and other articles are made to them in large quantities. During the three days of the Durgá-pújá, in October, upwards of a thousand kids are sacrificed to their honour besides several buffaloes. Vaidyanátha dislikes these offerings, and is averse even to look at them, and the door of his temple is therefore closely locked during the time the sacrifices are made. This temple was built by Ratnapáni Ojhá at the beginning of the last century.

No. 14 belongs to Vagalá Deví or Vagalámukhí. It was built by Rámadatta Ojhá, between 1782 and 1793 A. D. The goddess is said to be one of the ten forms of Durgá known under the common appellation of Mahávidyá. According to some Tantras she is four-handed; according to others, two-handed. Her *dhyána* pictures her as a female of grave appearance, excited with wine, bright as gold, four-handed, three-eyed, amorously disposed, holding a short club and a lasso in her right hands, and a tongue and a thunderbolt in her left hands, arrayed in a yellow garb, and decorated with golden earrings, her breasts hard and close, and she is seated on a golden throne."* Her peculiar habit is to seize her enemy by the tongue and then

* गम्भीराञ्च मदेन्द्रतां स्वर्णकान्तिसमप्रभां ।
चतुर्भुजां त्रिनयनां कामलालसमानसां ॥
मुद्गरं दक्षिणे पाशं वामे जिह्वाञ्च वज्रकं ।
पीताम्बरधरां देवीं दृढपीनपयोधरां ॥
हेमकुण्डलभूषाञ्च स्वर्णसिंहासनस्थितां ।

Rájá Rádhakánta's Supplement to his 'Sábdakalpadruma,' p. 1258.

break his skull with her club. She is the presiding divinity of a great many malevolent incantations.

No. 15 is a small temple, built by Rámadatta Ojhá, apparently from materials obtained from an old shrine, for, on the architrave of its porch, there is an inscription in the old Láṭ character. The presiding divinity is named *Súrya* or the sun-god, but the figure, as I saw it, is that of the Buddhist Padmapáni, 2 feet in height, and there is on the base of it an inscription beginning with the words *Deya dharmoyam* in the Kuṭila character, which leaves no doubt as to the personage the image was originally intended to represent. Nor is this a singular instance of the adoration of a Buddhist image under a Hindú name. Indian antiquarians have noticed instances of the kind in almost all parts of India. There is a Bengali inscription on the porch of this temple.

No. 16 holds an image of Sarasvatí, a daughter of Mahádeva, and patroness of knowledge. Both the temple and the image are insignificant, and held in little respect.

No. 17 is an open veranda, originally intended for the shelter of pilgrims and hermits, but now used as the repository of several images of different kinds picked up from distant places. The largest image is that of the monkey-general of Ráma, and the temple is named after him Hanumán Kabir.

No. 18 is dedicated to Kála-bhairava, a form of Śiva, but the image is of a very suspicious look. I should have taken it for a Dhyáni Buddha had I seen it in a Buddhist temple, and putting it beside *Súrya* *alias* Padmapáni there need be no doubt about its character. It is 3'-6" in height.

No. 19 is the sanctuary of Sandhyá Deví, the goddess of Vesper. She is also called Sávitrí Deví, the wife of the Sun. Her first name was Tárá Deví, a name well known among Buddhists. Her image, as seen in the temple, is that of a fierce-looking female seated on a car drawn by horses, but the car and horses are broken and smudgy. The temple was built by Kshemakarna Ojhá in 1692 A. D.

No. 20 has for its presiding divinity an image of the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa. It is very little cared for. It was built by Rámadatta Ojhá (circa 1782-1793).

No. 21 is a veranda with two ranges of pillars, and originally intended, like No. 17, for the use of pilgrims. It has now some images set up by hermits. The two principal images are Śyáma, a form of Kṛishṇa, and Kártikeya, son of Śiva.

No. 22 is the eastern gate with a pavilion on top, and intended for musicians, but not in use now.

No. 23 is the two-storeyed Nuhbat-kháná or music-room noticed above, and now in use.

In Captain Sherwill's 'Survey Report on Birbhum' it is stated that "all the temples but three are dedicated to Mahadeo ; the remaining three are dedicated to Gauri Párvati, his wife," and this has been quoted in Dr. Hunter's 'Statistical Account of Bengal,' Vol. XIV, p. 324. The details above given will show that such is not the case.

The road leading from the northern gate of the great temple passes along the western edge of a large lake, called *Sivagańgá*. The lake measures about 900 × 600 feet, having, in November, when I saw it, about 13 feet of water. The water is of a greenish colour, and held to be impure, though largely used for bathing purposes. The lake forms part of a large tract of low-land or ravine, the western portion of which has been cut off by a heavy embankment, on the top of which runs the road aforesaid. This embankment must have been put up by Mahárájá Mána Sińha, the great general of Akbar, who came to this place on his way to Orissa, as I find his name is associated with the western portion, which is called *Mánasarovara*. This portion has silted up greatly, and, except during the rains, remains dry. It is connected in a roundabout way with the lake by a small rivulet named *Karmanásá*, which is described to be the spot where Rávana eased himself, and its connection with the lake makes the water thereof impure. The drainage of this portion is discharged into the Yamunájor which runs at some distance to the west.

To the north of the hollow aforesaid there is a small spot of low land which forms the cremation ground of the town. And to the north of it and of the lake stands the forest which forms the northern boundary of the town.

To the south-west of the temple courtyard, on the south side of the main road, there are two small temples with a terrace in front, six feet high, and set off on the upper edge with a trefoiled moulding. On the top of this occurs a stone structure which has been thus described by Captain Sherwill, in his 'Survey Report on Bír bhúm': "At the western entrance to the town of Deoghar is a masonry platform about 6 feet in height, and 20 feet square, supporting three huge monoliths of contorted gneiss rock of great beauty ; two are vertical, and the third is laid upon the heads of the two uprights as a horizontal beam. These massive stones are 12 feet in length, each weighing upwards of seven tons ; they are quadrilateral, each face being 2 feet 6 inches, or 10 feet round each stone." (These measurements are wrong. The uprights are 12 feet high, having each face 1' 6" broad, or 6 feet in the round. The cross piece is 13 feet long, and 1' 9" inches broad on each side. The weight must be propotionately reduced.) "The horizontal beam is retained in its place by mortise and tenon. By whom, or when, these ponderous stones were erected, no one knows. There is a faint attempt at sculpture at each end of the vertical faces of the horizontal beam,

representing either elephants' or crocodiles' heads."* Dr. Hunter calls these "the three great stones which their (the Santáls') fathers had worshipped, and which are to be seen at the western entrance of the holy city to this day."† Bábu Bholánáth Chunder dissents from this opinion. He says: "It is evident that Mr. Hunter has written from hearsay, and not from actual local observations. His 'beautiful highland lake beside which the holy city stands,' is no more than a large artificial tank like the Lál Dighi. The 'three great stones'—'two vertical, and the third laid upon the heads of the two uprights as a horizontal beam'—supposed by him to be relics of aboriginal worship,—are at once made out by Hindu eyes to be no more than a Hindu *Dolkát-frame in stone*, with *makara* faces at the extremities of the horizontal beam, which is used for swinging Kṛishṇa in the *Holi* festival. The rude Santhals, who can yet build no more than a thatched cabin, and who depend for all their iron-work and instruments upon the Hindu blacksmith, are not the people to have fashioned the stone into well-edged slender pillars, or cut the mortises and tenons in which is retained the horizontal beam, or carved the elegant *makara* faces at its extremities."‡

The argument about the primitive races not being able to carve large stones is open to question. There are huge stones and carved colossal monoliths in different parts of the earth which are attributed to persons who certainly were not much more civilized than the Santáls of the present day. It is, however, not necessary to enter into this question here. Certain it is, the gallows-like structure is not peculiar to this place, nor has it any connection with the Santáls, who do not now worship it, nor is there any reason to suppose that they ever did so. There is nothing to show that the Santáls were in the habit of worshipping a stone scaffold like the one under notice, and certain it is that in no part of Santália, and indeed in no part of India inhabited by the black races, is there a stone gallows to be seen, which would justify the assumption that such a structure was ever an object of worship. Had any religious sanctity been attached to it, it would have been seen much more abundantly than what appears to be the case. The terrace in front of the temples, however, settles the question as to the use of the gallows. In every part of India where the Kṛishṇa cultus has found access, such gallowses are invariably seen in close proximity of ancient temples. Of course where stone is scarce, wood is generally used to make the scaffolding, but where stone is available it is always preferred. A remarkably handsome structure of this kind will be seen in plate XXX of my 'Antiquities of Orissa,' Vol. II. It is regularly

* *Apud* Hunter's 'Statistical Account of Bengal,' Vol. XIV, p. 325.

† 'Annals of Rural Bengal,' p. 192.

‡ Mookerjee's Magazine, Vol. II, pp. 26f.

used at Bhuvaneśvara for the purpose of setting up a swing during the swing festivals. At Puri there is a similar structure to the north of the great temple, and used for the same purpose. Innumerable other instances may be easily cited, but they are, I think, not wanted. In my own house there is a wooden structure for hanging the swing for my family divinity, and almost every old family in Calcutta can produce samples of it.

Mr. Beglar had not, evidently, read Dr. Hunter's work when he wrote his report on Vaidyanátha, and his idea is that the gallows represents a gateway. He writes: "There is, however, one object that must be excepted: this is a great gateway consisting of two pillars spanned by an architrave; this is clearly the remains of some great ancient temple, which has entirely disappeared, leaving its outer gateway alone standing. I infer it to have been an outer gateway from its resemblance in all essentials to the great outer gateway of the temple at Pathári in Central India; like it, it stands entirely isolated, and although the pillars are plain rectangular ones, and have not the elaborate sculpture and the graceful statues that adorn the example at Pathári, there is nevertheless about it an air of impressiveness that takes it out of the commonplace. I could not obtain access to it, but was obliged to content myself with a distant view; it is situated on a small raised spot entirely surrounded by private huts; at present it is known as the *hindolá*, or swing, and at a certain festival the statue of Kṛishṇa is brought and made to swing beneath it."* The terrace, six feet high, on which the pillars are fixed, is sufficient to show that the gate theory is not at all tenable. No one in his senses would have thought it proper or convenient to have a terrace six feet high to block his principal gateway. It might be said that the terrace is a subsequent addition, but to prove this, one must dig into the terrace, and show that the stones are buried below the level of the surrounding ground. Mr. Beglar had got the right information, but he failed to utilise it. I cannot make out how he found any difficulty in coming near the pillars, for they stand right on the side of a public highway, and are easily accessible to all comers.

On the north side of the road, a little to the west of the pillars, there is a small square chamber with a pyramidal roof, which has a plain tomb in its middle, and this is said to contain the mortal remains of Vaiju. The building cannot be two hundred years old, and there is nothing in it to show that it is in any way connected with the alleged discoverer and breaker of the liṅgam which bears his name. In fact the name is an old one, and applied in the Puráṇas to the liṅgam of Śiva in very distant parts of India. It is often applied to Dhanvantari, the oldest Hindú surgeon. It means the "lord of medicine," and Śiva is the great lord of all herbs. The

* Archæological Survey of India, Reports, Vol. VIII, p. 128.

S'iva Purána explains the name to mean 'he who had been worshipped by two physicians' (Vaidyas,* the two Ásvins). It should be added, however, that the Padma Purána recites, in one place, that part of the Santál legend which accounts for the name of Vaidyanátha from that of Vaiju or Vaidya,† and provides for the contradiction by saying that the Bhilla of the second age was born as Vaiju in the present or Kali age, and from that time the name got currency. The *Vaidyanátha-máhátmya* of the Padma Purána, as I have it in print, is, however, of doubtful authority; it names most of the temples, some of which are under 150 years of age, and, even if we rejected those parts as interprolations, the age of the work cannot be carried very far back, while the name of Vaidyanátha is unquestionably old.

To turn now to the inscriptions.‡ The most important record in connexion with the history of the principal temple is the one which occurs in the lobby of that temple, on the left hand side of the doorway. It is engraved in the Nágari character on a sandstone slab 2'3" × 1'3," and comprises five lines of matter. The letters measure each 2 inches in height. The language is Sanskrit, and the text runs thus:—

No. 1.

अचलशशिशयकोल्लसितभूमिशकाब्दके
वलति रघुनाथके वह(ङ्ग)लपूजके श्रद्धया ।
विमलगुणचेतसा नृपतिपूरणेनाचिरं
त्रिपुरहरमन्दिरं व्यरचि सर्वकामप्रदं ।
नरपतिस्तपयमिदं ।

* वैद्याभ्यां पूजितं सत्यं लिङ्गमेतत् पुरातनं ।
वैद्यनाथमिति ख्यातं सर्वकामप्रदायकं ॥

S'iva Purána.

† एवं भिल्लाभिवेषोपि जात्यावोधो हरप्रियः ।
कलौ जन्म समासाद्य वैद्यनाम्ना भविष्यति ॥ ५८ ॥
रावणेशं सामाराध्य स्तुत्वा भक्तिपुरःसरं ।
ततः प्रसन्नस्त्वं प्राह वरं ब्रूहि महामते ॥ ५९ ॥
वैद्यनाथेति नामेदमुवाच प्रणतः सुधीः ।
अथ प्रभृतित्राम्ना तव नाम भविष्यति ॥ ६० ॥
वैद्यनाथेति नामेदं त्रिवारं ये गृह्णन्ति वै ।
भक्तिमुक्ति सदातेषां करगे भवति ध्रुवं ॥ ६१ ॥

‡ Impressions from all the inscriptions noticed here are preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society. They are not of sufficient importance to justify the publication of their facsimiles.

Translation. “ In the S’aka year of mountain [8], moon [1], arrows [5], and earth [1, or S’aka 1518 = A. D. 1596], at the request of Raghunátha, through good-will towards numerous worshippers, this temple, designed for the destroyer of Tripura and (itself) the giver of all blessings, was quickly erected by king Púraṇa of pure mind and untarnished qualities.

This stanza is the composition of the king.”

As a piece of royal composition this poem is not fit subject for criticism ; but the word *balati* in the second line is not Sanskrit, in the sense in which it has been used here. There is an error of spelling too, but it is due to the engraver. The name of the king in full is Púraṇa Malla, a chief of Gidhaur, said to be (but obviously incorrectly) the 9th in a direct line from Vira Vikrama Siṅha, who founded the Gidhaur house in A. D. 1167. The fifth from Púraṇa obtained the title of Rájá from the Emperor Shah Jahán in 1651. Gopála Siṅha, the 19th from the founder, was the reigning chief when the English took Bihár. Mr. Beglar has failed to read the name, and says, the record “ mentions the name of some king with the title of Nripati. Raghunátha’s name also occurs in the last line” (p. 140). The name of Raghunátha occurs in the 2nd line, not in the last.

No. 2.

The story runs that the above inscription was forcibly put up by Púraṇa Malla after causing certain repairs to be done to the temple to mark his supremacy and ownership of the surrounding land, including the property called Táluk Deoghar, which he had taken from its former owners. It might be that the chief did more than mere repairs. The lobby is unquestionably of a later date than the temple itself ; and the chief probably caused it to be erected to improve the temple. Anyhow, the priest Raghunátha Ojhá, whose name Púraṇa Malla recites, was not at all pleased with the inscription ; but, unable to resist the chief, bided his time, and when the chief was gone, caused the porch to be erected and therein set up his own inscription. Tradition has it that the priest fasted for some days at the gate of Vaidyanátha who in mercy revealed to him in a dream that he should build a new porch, and set up an inscription ; but he claims the credit of having erected the temple. The record is, like the last, in Sanskrit language, but inscribed in the Bengali character. It extends to 13 lines, each nearly 4 feet long. The letters are about an inch in height. The following is its transcript in the Deva Nágari character :—

चन्द्रविम्बप्रतीकाशं प्रासादं चातिशोभनं ।

हरिद्रापीठके कर्तुं कामोऽस्मिन्नभवन्मुनिः ॥ १ ॥

न चैतन्मानुषं कर्म चोलराज महामते ।

भविष्यति न सन्देहः कदाचिच्च कलौ युगे ॥ २ ॥

मुनेः कल्याणमित्रस्य पार्थस्य च महात्मनः ।
संवादं शृणु राजेन्द्र इतिहासं पुरातनं ॥ ३ ॥
यदाकदाचिच्च कलौ रामांशेन द्विजन्मना ।
कारयेद्वै मठवरं रावणेश्वरकानने ॥ ४ ॥
स्वयं दाता समागत्य प्रीङ्गिय मठकूवरं ।
स करिष्यति यत्नेन प्रच्छन्नो नरविग्रहः ॥ ५ ॥
आयतं शतसाहस्रमस्मिन् लिङ्गे प्रतिष्ठितं ।
वस्त्रकुलञ्च तस्मिन् वेदिकोपरि चोत्थितं ॥ ६ ॥
अथोर्द्ध्वशिखराकारं योजनार्द्धं सुविस्तृतं ।
लक्षलिङ्गोद्भवं पुण्यं पूजनात्तस्य जायते ॥ ७ ॥
ब्रह्मना पद्मनाभेन वञ्चितस्तु दशाननः ।
रक्षणाय च देवानां दैत्यानां वै बधाय च ॥ ८ ॥
कैलासशिखरे देवी यदा मानवती सती ।
तस्मिन् काले दशग्रीवं द्वारस्थानन्द्रवारयत् ॥ ९ ॥
दोर्भिर्जग्राह शैलेन्द्रं सिंहनादं चकार सः ।
तेन सन्त्रासिता देवी मानं तत्याज भाविनी ॥ १० ॥
तस्मिन्नुपरते शब्दे जहास परमेश्वरः ।
त्रीडामवाप महतीं दशग्रीवं चुकोप सा ॥ ११ ॥
शश्वत्प्रीतिमना भूत्वा दैत्यराजाय वै पुरा ।
एवं वरं ददौ शम्भुर्लङ्कागमनकारणं ॥ १२ ॥
तिस्रः कोट्योर्द्ध्वकैटिश्च देवाः सन्त्रासमाययुः ।
स्मरन्ति देवीं सम्भूय कालरात्रिस्वरूपिणीं ॥ १३ ॥
कामरूपं परित्यज्य सा सन्त्रासमुपागता ।
हरिद्रापीठमासाद्य वशञ्चक्रे दशाननं ॥ १४ ॥
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे राजन् द्विजरूपधरो हरिः ।
हस्ते कृत्वा तु तस्मिन् क्षणमात्रं स्थितस्तदा ॥ १५ ॥
प्रस्रावं कर्तुमारभे यावद्दण्डं दशाननः ।
तावत् स विप्रस्त्वरितोलिङ्गं तत्याज भूतले ॥ १६ ॥
करततिभिरकर्षच्चैकवारं द्विवारं त्रितयमपि गृहीत्वा कुण्डिता तत्र शक्तिः ।
करकलितशिरोग्रं जीवितान्ते तुरीयं दशवदनभुजानां जातमन्युर्वभूव ॥ १७ ॥

मुषिक इव तटस्थः सोऽर्थसिद्धेर्निरस्तः स्मरजिदथ निषन्नः सप्रपातालविद्धः ।
 त्रिदशयुवतिभाले दत्तमन्दारमालोदशवदननिकारी प्रादुरासीदयोध्यां ॥ १८ ॥
 गते कियति काले तु रावणं भक्तितुं नृप ।
 निमित्तं राममासाद्य जहास परमेश्वरी ॥ १९ ॥
 नातः परतरं स्थानं गुह्यमुत्तन्तु शम्भुना ।
 चतुरस्रं क्रोशमितं चतुष्किष्कुसमुच्छ्रितं ॥ २० ॥
 यदा यदा भवेद्भ्रानिः स्थानेऽस्मिन् मनुजाधिप ।
 तदा तदा चावतरेद्रामः कमललोचनः ॥ २१ ॥
 यस्मैषा मानिनी देवी मातेव हितकारिणी ।
 स एव रामोविज्ञेयो मठं कारयिता च यः ॥ २२ ॥
 श्रीवैद्यनाथचरणान्जसधुत्रतेन विप्रावतंसरधुनाथगुणार्णवेन ।
 प्राप्य प्रसादम + + + मिदं व्यधाधि + प्रासादसेतुवनवारिमठादि सर्व्वं ॥ २३ ॥

Translation. “ The sage desired to erect on the Haridrā-pīṭha (an old name of Deoghar) a magnificent edifice, resplendent as moonlight. O wise king of Cholas, such an edifice could not be the work of man, but doubtless it will be accomplished some time in the Kali age. Listen, O king, to the ancient history of the noble-minded sage Kalyána-mitra Pártha, who, born as a Bráhmaṇa and pertaining a portion of Ráma, will some day in the Kali age, build an excellent Maṭha in the forest of Rávaṇeśvara. Himself the donor, he will diligently cause the foundation to rise forth—he a godly being in the guise of a man. There he will establish the língam measuring a hundred thousand (*yojanas*), but rising only eight fingers on the altar. Its top is like the crest of a mountain spreading over half a yojana. By worshipping it one obtains the merit of worshipping a hundred thousand língams. (It had been obtained) by Padmanábha (Vishṇu) craftily from the tenheaded (Rávaṇa) for the preservation of the gods and the overthrow of Daityas.

“ At a time when the chaste goddess was in a sulky mood on the Kailása mountain, there came to the gate the ten-necked (Rávaṇa) who, on being prevented by Nandi (from entering the palace), seized with his hands the noble mountain, and burst forth in a lion’s roar. Frightened by the noise, the wanton Deví at once gave up her sulks. The great lord laughed on hearing the noise. The lady was abashed greatly at this, and felt annoyed with the ten-necked. Śambhu, graciously disposed, blessed the king of Daityas with the promise for removal to Lañká. Three and a half koṭis of Devas were seized with fear, and in a body sought with prayer the shelter of the Deví of the form of Kálarátrí. Forsaking her bewitching

form, she manifested herself as Vesper (Sandhyá) and, taking her seat at Haridrâ-píṭha, subjugated the ten-headed. At this time Hari, assuming the form of a Bráhmaṇ, took the liṅgam in his hands (from those of Rávana), and waited for a moment. The ten-headed was engaged in relieving himself for a daṇḍa (24 minutes), and in the meantime the Bráhmaṇa dropped the liṅgam on the earth (and disappeared). He (Rávana) tried once, twice, and thrice to take it with his hands, but his strength failed him. Failing for the fourth time after a final effort, the ten-headed lifted his hands to his head, and felt disgusted with his arms. Desisting from exerting for his object, he stood aside like a mouse, and the overpowerer of Cupid sat firm, penetrating down to the seventh infernal region.

“After a time, O king, he who overcame the ten-headed, who conferred chaplets of Mandára flowers on the heads of celestial damsels, was born in Ayodhyá, and the supreme goddess smiled at seeing in him her tool for the overthrow of Rávana.

“There is no place greater or more secret than this, said S’ambhu ; it is two miles square and four cubits high. As often as, O lord of mortals, distress obtains in this place (region), so often does Ráma, the lotus-eyed, descend in incarnation. Verily is this haughty goddess beneficent to him like a mother. He verily should be known to be Ráma who will cause this temple to be made.

“By the noblest Bráhmaṇa Raghunátha, the ocean of merit, the bee on the lotus feet of the auspicious Vaidyanátha, with the grace of——— has this———been erected,———the palace, the bridge, the grove, the waters, the maṭha and all.”

The shrewd priest, it will be noticed, has taken shelter of distorted Puránic legends and ambiguous references to palaces, gardens, bridges, &c., to avoid directly contradicting the powerful chief of the land, and, by a play upon the meaning of his name, has allied himself with Ráma, of whom he claims to be an incarnation. He had acknowledged the aid of the conqueror at the close of the record, but the name of the conqueror has since been obliterated after the word *prasáda* ‘grace.’ This has obviously been deliberately done. I cannot make out to whom reference is made as the “wise king of Cholas.” Mr. Beglar says, the inscription “records the erection, or rather I consider the repairs, of a temple by one Sri Vaidyanátha Mahamyáma. This name and also the name of one Raghunátha occurs in the last line.”*

No. 3.

The inscription, on the right hand side pier measures 18 × 7 inches, and comprises 7 lines in the Maithila character. It run thus:—

* Archæological Survey Reports, VIII, p. 140.

- १ । शास्ता समुद्रान्तवसुन्धरायाः यथाश्वमेधाद्यमहाक्रतूनाम् । आदित्यसेनः प्रथितप्रभा-
 २ । वेवभूव राजाऽमरतुल्यतेजाः ॥ माघ्यां विशाखापदसंयुतायां कृते युगे चोलपुराद-
 ३ । पेत्य (दुपेत्य) महामणीनामयुतत्रयेण त्रिलक्षचामीकरटङ्ककेन ॥ इष्ट्याश्वमेधचित्त-
 ४ । येन दत्त्वा तुलासहस्रं हयकोटियुक्तम् । श्रीकोषदेव्या सहितोमहिष्या अचीकरत् की-
 ५ । र्त्तिमिमां स सर्वाम् ॥ कृत्वा प्रतिष्ठां विधिवद्द्विजेन्द्रैः स्वयं यथा वेदपथं नरेन्द्रः ।
 कल्याणहे-
 ६ । तोर्भुवनत्रयस्य चकार संस्थां नृहरेः स एव ॥ स्थापितोबलभद्रेण वराहोभुक्तिमुक्ति-
 ७ । दः । स्वर्गार्थे पिढमाट्टृणां जगतः सुखहेतवे ॥ इति मन्दारगिरिप्रकरणम् ॥

Translation. Adityasena of great renown, the ruler of the earth to the verge of the ocean, the performer of the horse and other great sacrifices, became king. His vigour was as great as that of the immortals. In the Kṛita age, issuing forth from the Chola metropolis, after performing the horse-sacrifice three times, giving three lakhs and thirty thousand golden coins to great sages, performing the Tūla ceremony a thousand times over, during which he gave away a krore of horses, he, jointly with his queen Koshadeví, performed this noble deed. Having consecrated it through noble Bráhmaṇas, the king himself laid down the divine road for the good of the three worlds by establishing this abode of Nṛihari. This Varáha, the giver of enjoyment and salvation, was established by Balabhadra, for the translation of his parents to heaven, and for their welfare on the earth. This is the chapter on Mandáragiri.”

The purport of this Vaishṇavite inscription shows that it has been brought away from the Mandár hill, where Balabhadra, a Chola king, had dedicated images of the boar and the man-lion incarnations, and stuck up here as a curiosity. It has no connection with the temple of Vaidyanátha.

No. 4.

The temple of Kálí has two inscriptions, one over the doorway, and the other on the left hand pier. The former comprises five lines in relief Nágari letters, each over two inches in height, and divided into two portions by a perpendicular line in the middle. The left hand portion gives some dates, and the right hand portion the name of Harinátha. The purport of the record is not very clear. It appears in the form of a prophecy. Reading the record along with No. 5, I am disposed to think that the temple was undertaken by Harinátha in 1643, and completed by Jayanáráyana in 1712 A. D.

- १ । विन्द्वाकाशर्षिचन्द्राब्दे माघे
- २ । चतुर्दशीसिते चैकविंशन्म-
- ३ । ठ० ग्रन्थ० कुर्याः पुष्कर इति श-
- ४ । तम् ००१०० संवत् १७००
- ५ । माघसुदि + + तिपा ००

Translation. In the year of dot (0), the sky (0), the rishis (7), and the moon (1 = 1700 and corresponding to the Christian year 1643), in the month of Mággha, on the 14th of the waxing moon, made 31 maṭhas ... Pushkara. On hundred ... 100 ... Samvat 1700, Mággha, waxing moon.....

The first date is obviously the Samvat year which is next repeated in figures. The date corresponds to A. D. 1643.

The right hand portion.

- १ । चाज्ञा श्रीवैद्यनाथस्य
- २ । कालिकाया मठस्थिते
- ३ । राजगुरुश्च राजेन्द्रोभ-
- ४ । विष्यसीति वर्षिणि
- ५ । नाम्ना श्रीहरिनाथब्रह्मणा

Translation. By order of Vaidyanátha, in this maṭha of Káliká, thou, O Brahmachári, shalt become, under the name of Harinátha Bráhmaṇa, a royal priest and noble king (*Rájendra*).” Mr. Beglar says the date is scratched out after the word Samvat. It is not so.

No. 5.

This is the second inscription in the temple of Káli. It comprises nine lines in Nágari letters, and runs thus :—

- १ । स्वस्ति— — — — — भगवती— प्रो— — — — —
- २ । — — — — — रविन्दवरणा— स्तुत्या विरिञ्चादिभिः । तस्याः
- ३ । सुन्दरमन्दिरं हि विलसत् सर्व्वार्थदं चाकरोद्विप्रः शम्भुसमर्चकोज-
- ४ । यपुरोनारायणोनामतः ॥ श्रुतिशिखिरसविधुगणिते शकनरपतिव-
- ५ । त्सरे माघे । जयनारायणशर्मा व्यरचयदिदं हासितं भवनं ॥ तस्याः प्रसाद-
- ६ । मासाद्य प्रासादं रुचिरं मतं । व्यरचन्माघशुक्लायां दशम्यां सौरवासरे ॥
- ७ । भौमं सुन्दरमन्दिरं यदवधि प्रादुर्बभूवावनाविन्दुः स्वात्मगुणं धिगस्तु कथयन्-या-

८ । ति चीणतां । + + + पि जातजननैरुद्धनती सच्चितोमेरुः संस्त्रितावि-
९ । धौ प्रथमतः सैषो (शेषो) प्यधोयन्त्रितः ॥

Translation. [The first two lines are illegible; they apparently contain a praise of Kálí.] “For her the Bráhmaṇa of the name of Náráyaṇa preceded by Jaya, the servant of Śambhu, erected this beautiful edifice, the resplendent giver of all blessings. In the month of Mágha of the year numbering the *Srutis* (4), the fire, *Sikhi* (3), the flavours, *rasa* (6), and the moon (1 = 1634, and corresponding to the Christian year 1712) Jayanáráyaṇa Śarmá built this joyous house. Having attained her blessings, he completed this delightful and agreeable house, on Sunday, the 10th of the waxing moon, in the month of Mágha. As long as this beautiful temple shall flourish on the earth so long will the moon, condemning her own qualities, feel degraded, the Meru mountain remain stationary, and Śesha remain sunk in the region below.” [The last two lines are full of lacunae, and only their purport is here given.]

No. 6.

This is from the temple of Annapúrṇá. It is inscribed on a slab measuring 13" × 8", and fixed over the doorway. It comprises 11 lines of writing in the Bengali character. The following is a transcript of it in Devanágari letters :

सुराणां वरदे देवि शङ्करप्राणवल्लभे । अन्नपूर्णे दयापात्रे भक्तानां वरदा भव ॥ १ ॥
जवाकुसुमसङ्काशं तव वर्णं रविप्रभे । अधुना किमहं याचे मोक्षं माच्छं (मच्छं) ददस्व वै ॥ २ ॥
शुद्धस्फटिकसङ्काशं प्रासादञ्चातिनिर्मलं । छला मठवरं रम्यं स्वयं शम्भोरनुग्रहात् ॥ ३ ॥
वेदाभसागरयुते चन्द्रे शाके वरे शुभे । प्रमाथीनामवर्षे वै माघे मासि निरन्तरं ॥ ४ ॥
विवेकनिपुनेनैव पूजकेन द्विजन्मना । रामदत्तेन विदुषा प्रासादः क्रियते मुदा ॥ ५ ॥
श्रुतं सर्वपुराणञ्च दत्तं वित्तं द्विजातये । जातवेदोक्तं ह्ययं यज्ञं वेदविधानतः ॥ ६ ॥
प्रभवोनिर्मले वंशे विमला(ल)कौर्तिकारकः । देवकीनन्दनसुतो रामदत्त इति स्मृतः ॥ ७ ॥
रामांशेन(?) युतानाम ततः शङ्करपूजकः । सुहृद्भानरतोधीरोरघुनाथसमः क्षती ॥ ८ ॥

Translation. “O goddess, giver of blessings to immortals, thou art the delighter of the heart of Śaṅkara. O Annapúrṇá, be thou the giver of blessings to those who are thy deserving votaries! Thy complexion is resplendent as the rising sun of the colour of the hibiscus flower. Deign, O Śaṅkarí, to grant me salvation which I pray of thee, after having built this noble maṭha, this pure place, bright as clear crystal through the grace of Śambhu himself. In the Śaka year of the Vedas (4), the sky (0), the

oceans (7), and the moon (1, = 1704, and corresponding to the Christian year 1782), in the beneficent year *Pramáthí* (of the cycle of Jupiter), in the month of Mággha, this place was built by the learned Rámadatta, the firm in knowledge, the worshipper, the Bráhmaṇa. He had heard all the Puraṇás, he had given alms to Bráhmaṇas, he had offered oblations to the fire, he had performed Yajnas according to the rules of the Vedas, he was born in a pure family, the pure, the doer of noble deeds, the son of Devakíandana, he was known as the auspicious Rámadatta. A part of his name was associated with Ráma, and hence he was a worshipper of S'añkara. He was attached to his friends. He was the doer of good deeds like Raghunátha."

Rámadatta was kept out of the Páñdaship of Vaidyanátha by a rival claimant for a long time, but was appointed to the post in 1782, by order of the Provincial Council of Burdwan. The temple marks the year of his installation.

No. 7.

There are two inscriptions in the temple of Anandabhairava, one on the doorway, and the other on the pedestal of the image. These have been numbered 7 and 8 by me. No. 7 measures 9" × 5," and comprises 9 lines of Sanskrit in the Nágari character. The following is a transcript :

- १ । श्रीमद्रामाभिधोभूत् क्षितिबिबुधवरैर्वन्दनीयप्रभावो-
- २ । भूदेवोवैद्यनाथारुणचरणसरोजालिवन्मत्तचित्तः ।
- ३ । आनन्दाख्योऽतिदक्षः क्ष(ख)णति वज्रयुतसस्य पुत्रेषु
- ४ । मुख्यः यः सा + + रचक्षुः प्रमुदितहृदयः प्रीतयेऽमुं चक्रा-
- ५ । र ॥ १ ॥ तत्पौत्रोभुवि विश्रुतस्तु परमानन्दो गुणैश्च-
- ६ । न्द्रमाः सर्वानन्दइवेत्यसौ गुणवि(नि)धेर्जातो जना-
- ७ । नन्दनः शाके पञ्चचतुर्मुनीन्दुगणिते पक्षे सि-
- ८ । ते फालगुने मासे भैरवविग्रहं + सद्ने
- ९ । संस्थाप्य तस्मै ददौ ॥ २ ॥ सा(शा)के १७४५ ॥

Translation. "He, of the name of Ráma, whose glory was bepraised by all the wise men on earth, who was like a god on earth, whose mind was drunk like a bee at the resplendent lotus-feet of Vaidyanátha, was born. His name was Ananda; he was well experienced. The noblest among his sons,—of contented mind,—made this for the gratification (of the lord). Paramánanda was born; his grandson renowned in the

world, the moon of good qualities, the delighter of men like Sarvánanda (the son). In the Śaka year reckoning five (5), four (4), the sages (7), and the moon (1 = 1745, and corresponding to the Christian year 1823), in the wane of the month of Phálguna, having established an image of Bhairava in this abode, he dedicated it to him. In the Śaka year 1745.”

No. 8.

No. 8 is in three lines of Sanskrit. It is so filled up with sandal-paste that I have not been able to get a legible facsimile of it. It seems to be in the Kuṭila character.

No. 9.

The temple of Súrya contains two inscriptions, and I have numbered them 9 and 10. No. 9 occurs on the pedestal of the image, and it comprises two lines of engraving in the Kuṭila character; but the letters have suffered from decay, and have been otherwise so filled up with sandal-paste that I cannot read the whole of it. The legible letters are :

देयधर्मायं गृहक देविकार दाश + लकयता + + + गा उर्कदा + + +

The first five letters are perfectly clear, and they comprise the usual Buddhist formula of dedication—*Deya dharmoyam*. The name of the dedicator cannot satisfactorily be made out. It seems like Griddhaka Devikára-dáśa, unquestionably a Buddhist monk, who had consecrated an image of Padmapáni, which now does service for Súrya.

No. 10.

A record in five lines of Bengali character, not legible. The marked difference in the nature and character of the two inscriptions (Nos. 9 and 10) affords very strong presumptive proof of the image having been brought from another place, and not made for the temple.

No. 11.

A record in eleven lines of Bengali character placed on the doorway of the temple of Sávitrí Deví. The following is its transcript in Devanágari letters :

- १ । धैर्योपास्यगुणार्णवामुनिसमः सौजन्यरत्ना-
- २ । करः सत्सेव्यः शरदिन्दुनिर्मल्यशा विप्रोय-
- ३ । तीसः(शः) शुचिः । श्रीगोवी(वि)न्दपदारविन्दमधुपः श्री
- ४ । खे(त्ते) मकर्णः सुधीः प्रासादं समचीकरत् सुविपुलं श्रीशै-

- ५ । लजायाः प्रियं ॥ शके वेदहिमांशुषड्विधुमि-
 ६ । ते माघे दशम्यां शुचौ विप्रश्रीयुत्खे (त्ते) मक-
 ७ । णसुदती प्रासादमापूपुरत् । यत्रासौ प्रिय-
 ८ । नीलशैलवसतिं विस्मृत्य वासं व्यधादुत्तानी (दुत्ताली)
 ९ । परिपूरयन्त्यतिमती (मति) देवी विपत्तारिणी ॥
 १० । यज्ञे वज्रधनं दत्त्वा दत्त्वा दानानि—
 ११ । खे (त्ते) मकर्णेविदित्वा—

Translation. “Firm, adorable, a sea of merit, saint-like, an ocean of good behaviour, honoured by the good, having fame as untarnished as the moonlight in autumn, a Bráhmaṇa, the chief among Yatis, the pure one—such was the wise Kshemakarṇa, the bee on the lotus-feet of Śrī Govinda. He erected this large edifice, the approved of the daughter of the mountain, (Sávitṛī is said to have been born of a mountain). In the Śaka year numbering the Vedas (4), the soothing-rayed one = moon (1), six (6) and the moon (1, = Śaka 1614 and corresponding to the Christian year 1692) on the 10th of the waxing moon in the month of Māgha, the Bráhmaṇa Kshemakarṇa, the doer of good deeds, completed this edifice, where dwells the goddess who obviates all misfortunes and fulfils all desires, forgetting her beloved abode on the blue hill. Having given a profusion of wealth at sacrifices, having given alms—Kshemakarṇa knowing”—(concluding part illegible).

Mr. Beglar takes this inscription to mean “the construction of the temple by several people.”*

No. 12.

From over the doorway in the temple of Gaṇeśa. An inscription of eight lines in the Bengali character. The following is its transcript in Nágari letters :

- १ । सिद्धि (द्धिः) । श्रीगणेश (शा) य नमः ॥
 २ । वेदवसुरसेन्दुभिश्शके सङ्गतेऽब्दे
 ३ । सते शुद्धे । टीकारामद्विजेन्द्रेण व्यधा-
 ४ । धि मठसुन्दरं ॥ सु (श्रु) तिवसुरसच-
 ५ । न्द्रैः सङ्गतेऽब्दे विशुद्धे द्विजवरमणि-
 ६ । टीकारामनाम्ना सुधाम्ना । विधुरिव
 ७ । मठ उच्चैर्व्यै (व्यै) युतासः (भः) कृतोयं हरसुत-
 ८ । गृहवासः सर्व्वदैवं प्रचक्रे ।

Translation. “May it be auspicious! Salutation to Gaṇeśa. In the pure year of Śaka, numbering the Vedas (4), the Vasus (8), the flavours (6),

* Archæological Survey Reports, VIII, p. 141.

and the moon (1, making together 1684, and corresponding to the Christian year 1762) the chief of Bráhmanas, Tíkáráma, erected this beautiful temple (maṭha). In the pure year, numbering the *S'rutis* (4), the *Vasus* (8), the *Rasas* (6), and the moon (1, corresponding as above) the noble Bráhmana and sage, named Tíkáráma, whose abode is pure, and who is always engaged in good works, erected this lofty maṭha, beautiful as the moon and resplendent as the lightning, for the abode of the son of Hara."

For a proper understanding of the dates of the different temples above described, it is necessary here to notice the history of the several persons who have been named as their dedicators. They all belong to one family—that of the present High Priest or *Sardár Páñdá*, as he is generally called. He says he has a *kursinámah* or genealogical table preserved in the archives of the temple, and has furnished me with extracts from it, from which I work out the following notes. I must add, however, that I have not seen the table in question, and can say nothing about its authenticity.

The tradition is that the liṅgam of Vaidyanátha was in charge of hermits who had worshipped it for ages, but that in the 16th century, twelve Bráhmanas, all householders, came from Mithilá and took part in the worship, and officiated as priests for pilgrims who could not themselves consecrate their offerings. This was but natural. Indian hermits are mostly illiterate men, and in a contest for supremacy in religious ministrations it is hopeless for them to get the better of clever Bráhman householders and men of the world. In time one of the twelve was so far successful as to become the leader of the band, and to wheedle Mukunda, the Sannyási who had then charge of the liṅgam, out of that charge, and make himself the owner and master of the sacred shrine. His name as given me by the Head Priest, was Juḍaṅ Ojhá; but Bábu Bholánáth Chunder, in his article in the *Mookerjee Magazine* calls him Chandra Muni, and the party from whom he got the liṅgam, Chiku, a disciple of Mukunda; but according to my information Chiku was the grandson of Juḍaṅ Ojhá, unless we assume two Chikus. The surname Ojhá, is a corruption of Upádhyáya, and that would suggest the idea that the Bráhman was a professor of Sanskrit learning. When he came to Deoghar is not known, but from what follows it will be seen that he must have come in the second half of the sixteenth century.

(II). His son Raghunátha succeeded him, and, according to the inscription No. 1, requested Púraṇa Malla to erect the great temple in 1596 A. D., or, as the second inscription would have it, himself erected the shrine. In either case he must have become the Chief Priest a few years before 1596 A. D., and his father may be fairly presumed to have had a ministry of 20 to 25 years.

(III). Raghunátha was followed by his son Chiku Ojhá, who seems to have done nothing to commemorate his name. His son was

(IV). Manu Ojhá, who, like his father, did nothing to associate his name with the sanctuary of Vaidyanátha. His successor

(V). Vámadeva commenced the building of the temple of Lakshminárayana. Allowing 10 years for the remainder of the ministry of Raghunátha from 1596 and 20 for the duration of the ministry of Chiku and Manu, Vámadeva would come after 1626 A. D. His son

(VI). Kshemakarṇa is credited with the erection of the temple of Sávitrí, and its date is given in inscription No. 11 at 1614 S'aka. = A. D. 1692.

(VII). Sadánanda was the son and successor of Kshemakarṇa. He was followed by his son

(VIII). Chandrámhana Ojhá. His successor

(IX). Ratnapáni Ojhá built the temple of Párvatí. As Kshemakarṇa dated his temple of Sávitrí in the S'aka year 1614 = A. D. 1692, and Jayanáráyaṇa's temple of Kálí was completed in the S'aka year 1734 = A. D. 1612, Ratnapáni, the great-grandson of the former and father of the latter, may be fairly presumed to have lived at the beginning of the 18th century, and the date of the temple of Párvatí must be some time in the first decade of that century.

(X). Jayanáráyaṇa was the son and successor of Ratnapáni, and he completed the temple of Kálí. The date of this shrine in inscription No. 5 is 1634 of the S'aka era. His son was

(XI). Yadunandana. He contributed greatly to raise the resources of the temple by obtaining from the Gidhaur Rájas Mardán Siñh and Syáma Siñh a permanent grant of the taluk of Deoghar and of the village of Kuteá in the Gidhaur Ráj, the net income of which now amounts to a considerable sum. The grant is dated 30th of Phálguna in the Bengali year 1130 = A. D. 1737. I have seen the deed, and have no reason to doubt its authenticity. It affords a fixed point in the calculation of the dates of the Ojhás. It is not known how long Yadunandana lived after obtaining the grant, but at his death his son appears to have been an infant, who was set aside by one

(XII). Tikáráma, a distant relative, who officiated as head priest for some time. To him is attributed the temple of Gaṇeśa in 1762. He was ultimately deposed from his post by the rightful owner,

(XIII). Devakínandana. Devakí had studied Sanskrit for a long time at Viranagar, and was reputed to be a great scholar. During his ministry Deoghar and the surrounding country were taken from the chief of Gidhaur by the then Rája of Birbhúm, Ali Naki Khán, who defeated him in battle,* and, on his death, his son Rámadatta was, through Court influence, set aside, and the chief Páṇḍáship was obtained by one

(XIV). Náráyaṇadatta, said to have been a porter in his service. Náráyaṇadatta obtained a sanad from the Rája of Birbhúm, and officiated

* Hunter's Rural Bengal, p. 435.

as priest for some time. During the 8th decade of the last century, British power was fully established in Bír bhúm by the defeat of Ásád Jám Khán, and Rámádatta sued the usurper before the Provincial Council of Burdwan, and obtained a perwana, dated January 31, 1782; but his rights were not fully restored to him until October 23, 1788.

(xv). Rámádatta signalized his ministry by the erection of the temples of Rámachandra, of Súrya, of Sarasvatí, and of Annapúrṇá. On his death in 1793 A. D. his son

(xvi). Ánandádatta succeeded him in the ministry. He commenced the building of the temple of Ánandabhairava, but did not live long enough to finish it. His third son

(xvii). Paramánanda set aside the claims of Sarvánanda, a grandson of Ananda by his eldest son, and himself became the chief priest. He caused a large tank to be excavated in mauzá Kurmidehi, and named it Ánandaságara. He died in 1820 and a dispute arose about the succession, and this lasted for a long time, but the ministry of the temple was conducted by

(xviii). Sarvánanda, who in 1823 completed the temple commenced by his grandfather, and consecrated the image of Ánandabhairava. The date in the inscription on the temple is S'aka 1745 = A. D. 1823. Sarvánanda served as high priest for 14 years.

(xix). Íśvarinandana was the son of the last; he held a long ministry of 40 years. His son Púrṇánanda died in the lifetime of his father, and the succession, after some dispute, devolved in 1876, on the grandson

(xx). S'ailajánandana Ojhá, who is the present Sardár Páṇḍá. He is well versed in the S'ástras, and is generally respected for his learning, piety and public spirit.

According to the details above given the temples may be arranged chronologically thus:—

Name.	Dedicator.	Date.
1. Vaidyanátha,	Púraṇa Malla,	1596.
2. Lakshmí-naráyaṇa,	Vámadeva,	<i>circa</i> 1630-40.
3. Sávitrí,	Kshemakarṇa,	1692.
4. Párvatí,	Ratnapáni,	<i>circa</i> 1701-10.
5. Kálí,	Jayanaráyaṇa,	1712.
6. Gaṇeśa,	Ṭikaráma,	1762.
7. Súrya,	Rámádatta,	<i>circa</i> 1782-93.
8. Sarasvatí,	Ditto	Ditto.
9. Rámachandra,	Ditto	Ditto.
10. Vagalá Deví,	Ditto	Ditto.
11. Annapúrṇá,	Ditto	1782.
12. Ánandabhairava, commenced by Ánandádatta, completed by Sarvánanda,		<i>circa</i> 1810-23.

These dates show very clearly that the temples of Deoghar are all very modern. But from what has been stated above with reference to inscription No. 2, it will be seen that I make an exception in favour of the principal temple. According to the inscription No. 1, it should date from 1596 A. D. ; but I do not wish to submit to its authority. If we are to believe that there was no temple before the date of Púraṇa Malla, why should Raghunátha request him to build the temple? and what did Juḍaṇ, the father of Raghunátha, obtain and worship? There must have been something which Mukunda and his ancestors had worshipped, and which was made over to Juḍaṇ *alias* Chandra Muni, long before the advent of Púraṇa Malla in Deoghar. The testimony of the Vaidyanátha Máhátmyas, both of the Padma Púraṇa and of the Śiva Puráṇa, is worthless. The Máhátmyas did not originally form a part of the Puráṇas to which they are affiliated, and are obviously of a recent date. I have seen no old MS. of those works, and the quotations above given have been taken from a Benares lithograph of the first, dated Samvat 1931, and from a print of the second, dated Samvat 1938, and both have obviously been tampered with. The Máhátmya affiliated to the Padma Puráṇa refers to the temples of Sávitrí, Gaṇeśa, and Kálí, and they were, as shown above, built in 1692, 1762 and 1712 respectively, and it must therefore either be more recent, or quite corrupt. There are, however, several authentic works on pilgrimages dating from the 12th to the 14th centuries, and they refer to the sanctity of Vaidyanátha. Authentic portions of the Puráṇas also refer to it, and they are unquestionably anterior to the 10th century, and in their time Vaidyanátha must have attained considerable celebrity to be fit for record. And the questions, therefore, arise, did Vaidyanátha then and up to the time of Púraṇa Malla remain only as a stump of stone projecting four inches above the level of the ground, in an open field, and unprovided with any shelter? or, was there a temple over it, which was replaced by a larger one by Púraṇa Malla; or does the record refer to something connected with the temple, and not to the temple itself? The first question is so futile that it must be at once rejected. A place of great sanctity, highly eulogised in the Puráṇas, and strongly recommended as a place of pilgrimage, could not have remained in the form of a stump of four inches on the bare earth in an open field for centuries without a covering, during the Hindú period, after the downfall of Buddhism: some pilgrim or other would have soon provided it with a temple. There are tens of thousands of liṅgams in all parts of India, but out of them only twelve have been selected to be specially sacred and by far the most ancient. As shown above, the Hindús and their Śástras are unanimously of opinion that Vaidyanátha is one of these twelve, and contemporaneous with the Mahákála of Oujein, dating over 2000 years, of Somanátha of Sauráshṭra, of Rámeśa near Cape Comorin noticed in the Rámayána, of Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa,

dating from the 7th century, and seven other equally old and renowned liṅgams, and it could not have all along remained neglected and without a temple. The inference, therefore, is inevitable that there must have been a temple of some kind or other. This leads to the second question as to the present temple having replaced an old one. That might at first sight appear probable; but the belief of the Hindús is that it is a sacrilege to pull down a Śiva temple and rebuild it, and the denunciations in the Smṛitis are dire against such sacrilege. Rebuilding of temples is permitted in all cases where movable images are concerned; but in the case of liṅgams which are fixed to the earth, the pulling down of the temple is equal to the desecration of the liṅgam itself, which from that moment ceases to be adorable, and must at once be cast into a river. I cannot, therefore, believe that Púraṇa Malla knocked down an old temple, and erected a new one in its place. No Hindú remaining a Hindú and claiming religious merit by the act could have done such a thing. Repairs, additions and extensions are allowed—nay commended; but a marked distinction is made between them and pulling down. The latter is not permissible under any circumstance, not even for the purpose of rebuilding. It is true that when Aurangzebe desecrated the temple of Viśveśvara at Benares, the liṅgam there was removed, and subsequently provided with a new temple in its neighbourhood, but the act was not in accord with the canons of the Smṛitis which prohibit the removal of liṅgams, and only tolerated in the case of a very renowned liṅgam, as in the case of Somanátha at Gujarát, but it would be no precedent for a Hindú to follow as a voluntary act of piety. It is obvious to me, therefore, that the tradition which holds the temple to be old, and ascribes to Púraṇa Malla only the lobby is correct, and that having defrayed the cost of the lobby which became a part, and an integral part, of the temple, he, by a figure of synecdoche, claimed credit for the whole. In fact he does not use any equivalent for the word “whole,” but only by implication suggests the idea. The inscription, moreover, is placed within the lobby, and its purview need not extend beyond the boundary of that apartment. The same may be said of the inscription of Raghunátha. That worthy defrayed the cost of the porch which put to shade the work of an oppressive superior and conqueror, and by a figure of speech took to himself the credit of building the whole of the temple and a great many other things which probably never existed. The rivalry of the priest and the potentate can be best explained by accepting the truth of this tradition.

Mr. Beglar is of opinion that Deoghar was formerly the seat of a large Buddhist establishment; but the arguments on which he has come to it, do not appear to me by any means satisfactory. He says, “It now remains to ascertain, if possible, why these temples were built here, and

not rather at any other place ; this is accounted for by the existence of the two ancient inscribed statues, one of which is clearly Buddhist ; and of a third figure, not inscribed, but clearly Buddhist, being a fine-seated statue of Buddha himself, beautifully polished, and equal in execution to the finest statues to be met with in Bihar. These statues prove beyond a doubt that here was at one time a large Buddhist establishment.

“ What this establishment was named, it is, perhaps, impossible now to determine with certainty ; but if I may be permitted to speculate, I should think it to have been the site of the famous Uttániya monastery of Winjjha. Winjjha is the Páli equivalent of Vindhya ; the passages in Turnour referring to it are—p. 115—‘ the monarch, departing out of his capital and preceding the river procession with his army through the wilderness of Winjjha, reached Tamalitta on the 7th day,’ and in p. 171, ‘ From various foreign countries many priests repaired hither’ * * * * ‘ There Uttaro attended, accompanied by sixty thousand priests from the Uttániya temple in the wilderness of Winjjha.’

“ It is evident that the wilderness of Winjjha lay on the route from Pátaliputra to Tamluk. I have indicated some of the routes from Tamluk to various places. The principal route would, it appears to me, have to pass through, or close to, modern Bankurah ; from here there was a choice of several routes. Clearly the route to Bhágalpur would branch off northwards from there, passing through Seuri, under Mandar, close past Bhaskináth ; it is remarkable that an old track yet exists from Bhaskináth to Deoghar Byjnáth, whence it goes on skirting the eastern spurs of the Kawalkol range, past Afsand, Parvati, Bihar to Patna. I should consider that this was the route taken by the king when he passed through the wilderness of Winjjha, for it appears to me pretty certain that the wilderness of Winjjha can only refer to the wild country now known in part as the Santál Parganas.

“ If this be admitted, we have but one place in the Winjjha forests where Buddhist temples existed, as testified by existing Buddhist relics, and this place is Deoghar Baijnáth.

“ It is remarkable that close to the city of Deoghar and still closer to the temples is a small village named Utmuria ; this may be a corruption of the original of the Páli Uttama. I put forward this suggestion merely in the absence of any more positive ; it is possible that an examination of the 3-line inscription from the Buddhist statue noticed before may throw new light on the subject.”*

The starting question “ why the temples were built here (at Deoghar) and not rather at any other place ” is simply gratuitous. One may as well ask why was London built on the bank of the Thames, and not on that of the

* Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. VIII, pp. 141f.

Dee or of the Liffey? There is no reason why it should be elsewhere and not here. A pious man builds a temple and endows it richly, and its grandeur soon secures it notoriety; or a hermit sets up an image and effects miraculous cures, and they suffice to make the place famous, to attract pilgrims, and to promote the construction of costly buildings. When I was at school, I learnt Lourdes to be a very small town, or rather a large village, of no importance whatever, and not worth knowing, though ancient; but the cures lately effected there have made it so famous that not to know it now would imply gross ignorance of passing events. If the cures continue, it will in time become a large town, and a place of great consequence. Vaidyanátha is noted principally for the cures effected there, and it is but reasonable to suppose that it rose into importance from the time when the cures were first effected. Tárakeśvara, in the Hooghly district, is known by every pilgrim to be a modern place, not quite two hundred years old, and not noticed in any authentic Sanskrit work; but the cures effected there makes it a powerful rival of Vaidyanátha. In the case of miraculous cures there is no necessity whatever for any anterior sanctity or fame, so long the cures are satisfactory.

Nor does the presence of the Buddhist statues in any way militate against spontaneous fame. The temples in which the statues occur are of very recent dates. Anandabhairava's temple dates from A. D. 1823, that of Súrya from 1790, and that of Sávitrí from 1692, and we have nothing to justify the belief that Buddhist sanctuaries existed at the place till such recent dates side by side with Vaidyanátha. I feel certain that even Mr. Beglar would not admit that there was a Buddhist temple at Deoghar in the third decade of this century, from the sanctuary of which the image of Anandabhairava was removed in 1823. The temples of Lakshmi-náráyana, Párvatí, and Annapúrṇá have images which, I have shown above, have been brought from old temples elsewhere; if we accept the local theory we must believe, by parity of reasoning, that they too thrived side by side with Buddhism. This would be absurd, and the most obvious conclusion would be to assume that the Buddhist, as well as the Hindú, images have been brought from elsewhere, and set up from time to time according to circumstances. Nor is it necessary to assume that they have been brought from one place, and a near place. They are of such a character as to admit of their being easily conveyed from very distant places. The inscription No. 3 is from Mandár, and some of the images may have likewise come from that place.

The speculations regarding the identity of Uttániya with Deoghar are exceedingly imaginative, and cannot by any means serve as data of sufficient importance to justify their being accepted as majors in an argument of this kind. To put the speculations into logical forms:—1. Uttániya lay within a forest of the Vindhya mountain; the Santal Pargannahs

are mostly wild country at the eastern end of the Vindhyan chain; therefore Uttániya is the same with Deoghar. 2. There are several routes from Patna in the north to Tamluk in the south; one of them passes from Bankurah to Bhágalpur to the north-east; therefore Deoghar lay in the way from Patna to Tamluk. 3. Uttániya was a famous monastery from which sixty thousand priests issued forth in a body; Deoghar is a small town surrounded by uninhabitable jungle and wild hills; therefore Deoghar is Uttániya. 4. Uttániya is very like Utmuriá in sound; Utmuriá is near Deoghar; therefore Deoghar is the same with Uttániya. Taking the speculations in these forms one cannot resist the temptation of recalling Fluellen, and saying—there is a river near Monmouth and there is a river near Macedon, and salmons grow in both; therefore king Hal is the same with Alexander the Great.

I feel that my remarks in regard to the origin and date of Vaidyanátha are more destructive than constructive, and that I fail to supply fixed dates and positive statements; but in the absence of satisfactory data, it is better to rest contented with such negative results than to mislead the public by mere conjectures, which are very apt to be taken for facts, and to result in falsifying history.
